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THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF PILGRAM MARBECK*

HORST QUIRING

Every great age states anew the question of the nature of man: "What is man?" (Psa. 8). This question always stands in the center of an epoch of great changes. When the world-wide Catholic Church with its unified view of the world and mankind was inwardly shaken under the blows of the Reformation there arose a new comprehension of the purpose of the existence of mankind. Catholic theology had succeeded in unifying the humanly evolved view of man (the philosophic-humanistic) with the view which comes from the revelation of Christ, which sees man as a being sinful by nature and in need of divine grace. This union of two opposing views is most clearly seen in the Catholic concept of original sin; viz., the idea that man does not stand alone in his going astray and acquiring guilt, but belongs to a chain of guilt which includes all men since the fall without exception. This original sin, however, in the Catholic view, does not reach the bottom of the human heart; in his innermost being man has remained good, with freedom of will. The reformers, especially Luther, emphasized in contrast to this view, that man is entirely sinful, since all his activity, even his noblest deeds, revolve about his own ego. As a consequence of Luther's position, humanistic thinking on this point became a separate intellectual movement, independent of the Church. Its starting-point was the goodness of man, hence it was bound to come into conflict with the doctrine of the Church. The dispute between Luther and

*Translated from the German

Erasmus about the freedom of the will will always remain a high point in this battle of the two discrepant views of man.

Parenthetically it might be stated that in our own time the question of the nature of the human being, the anthropological question, has entered upon a new stage. Attempts have not ceased to build a conception of humanity out of purely earthly materials (such as folk and race), and in Russia the attempt is being made to create a new human type, the "Mass-Man". (Lenin declared expressly: We want to create a new human being.)

The Anabaptists of the Reformation period had a distinct anthropology of their own. There were a few who denied original sin (Hans Denk), but otherwise all were agreed that man does not enter the world as a "tabula rasa", but as a part of imperfect humanity. One of the few Anabaptist leaders who developed a real doctrine of original sin was Pilgram Marbeck. His name and works have become known to us only in the last decade through the research of Christian Hege of Frankfurt A. M. and Professor Dr. Johann Loserth of Graz. The latter in 1929 made available to us in print Marbeck's "Reply" to Schwenckfeld's condemnation of Marbeck's "Buch der Bundesbezeugung" of 1542. This work, briefly named the "Reply", furnishes the source for our study of Marbeck's Anthropology.[1] The "Reply" is polemic in nature: it attempts to ward off the accusations of Schwenckfeld against the Anabaptists and thus to quiet the Anabaptist congregations. In spite of this conscious bias it is nevertheless a source of no little importance. For according to a notice in the Zurich manuscript[2] Marbeck made use of other Anabaptist writings, and many bishops aided him in the formulation of his reply, so that we may say that we are dealing with a book which is well thought through and expresses the views of the widest circles of South German Anabaptism. Furthermore, the agreement of these circles with the Anabaptists of Moravia is satisfactorily proved.[3] It will therefore be permissible in the following discussion to use "Marbeck" and "the Anabaptists" synonymously.

A limiting remark, is however, necessary. The Anabaptists were not systematic theologians, and only in self-defense did they

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1 Pilgram Marbecks Antwort auf Kaspar Schwenckfelds Beurteilung des Buches der Bundesbezeugung von 1542. Herausgegeben von J. Loserth. (Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der oberdeutschen Taufgesinnten im 16. Jahrhundert.) Wien und Leipzig, 1929. The quotations from Marbeck cited in the text are made from this book, with the reference *Op. cit.*, to the page on which the quotation is found.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 49f.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 268.

give expression to their attitudes on questions of systematic theology. "Weil Wir nun durch Schwenckfeld werden angeloffen, seind wir verursacht, weiter diss und anders zu schreiben." "Das wir sunst wol hetten Mugen underlassen."[4] Again and again they refer to the fact that their Christian faith did not depend on clever words and learned formulations, but on simple faith in Christ.[5] Here again we find the simplicity and sobriety which characterize the Anabaptists of that day as well as those of today, and which also appears in their anthropological statements. Marbeck always keeps before him the concrete situation of humanity when he answers the question: "What is Man?". Let us proceed to an analysis of Marbeck's views.—

I. Original Condition and Fall

Marbeck's realism is shown first in the fact that above all the condition of real empirical humanity is dealt with as viewed by the Bible, and that consideration of the original state (in the garden) recedes into the background. Nevertheless the expressions about the original state, though few in number, give a clear picture of Marbeck's ideas. Creation left God's hand "good". "Auch hett die lesterung statt, wie etlich gott in seiner majestat, herrlichkeit, gerechtigkeit und unstrefflichkeit lestern und sagen: Der Adam hab ubertreten mussen oder sollen, als sey gott an seinem fahl (Fall) und sund schuldig gewest; das alles doch heyliger schrift zuwider were, die da sagt: Gott sahe an alles, was er gemacht hatte, and sihe da es war alles vast (sehr) gut."[6] Here Marbeck takes for granted complete freedom of the will of the first human beings. Evil came into the world alone through the fault of man, so that now man's fleshly, mortal existence became the domain of sin. The account of creation given on the first pages of the Bible is presented in essence without special explanation. The characteristic Anabaptist point of view is revealed first in the interpretation of the Fall and its consequences.

"Und also sehen wir auf den biss und apfel Ade mit der sund, *nit allein* auf das *eusserlich werk,* sonder auch auf den anfenklichen *ungehorsam.* Nachdem Adam und Eva erstlich in ihrem *herzen* durch die hochfart verdorben gewest und von gott und seinem wortt zum sathan waren abgewichen und selbs gotter zu werden begerten, ja als zuvor *innerlich* an gott sich versundet hetten, haben sy ja solch ire sund und ungehorsam mit den eusserlichen werken, das ist brech-

4 *Op. cit.,* p. 205, cf. p. 272.
5 *Op. cit.,* p. 99.
6 *Op. cit.,* p. 191.

en und essen bezeugt".[7] Marbeck emphasizes here that he sees sin not only in single voluntary deeds but also in thought, in will, and in desire. The evil deed is merely the result of evil thinking; thus it is also in the case of Adam's descendants. The foundation of all evil is the inward turning away from God, the Creator; all evildoing is thus the logical consequence of this inner falling away. With these thoughts Marbeck comes in close touch with those of Luther, who likewise considered the transgression of the first commandment, "I am the Lord *thy* God," the center and source of inherited sin. This surprising agreement between Marbeck and Luther nullifies the charge of Schwenckfeld, that the Anabaptists tolerated Pelagian error; for Pelagius denied the sinful nature of mankind and sought sin only in individual deeds. Marbeck however does not separate character from deed, but considers both as sin in accordance with the Sermon on the Mount. "Also wissen wir nur von einer und nit zwayen sunden der ubertretung Ade, weil je nichts eusserlichs sund kann sein noch heissen ohn das *innerlich*, und kein fleisch, leib oder mensch sundigen mag, ohn zuvor verkerung seines menschlichen geists".[8]

Adam (and that means man) is seen as a unit. He suffers not from a defect in his good qualities (as maintained in the Catholic system), but he becomes completely a sinner: "Und ist alles von innen heraus geflossen zu vollkommner erfullung der sund mit dem ganzen menschen als geist seel und leib," "und also das der ganz mensch mit leib, seel und geist gott ungehorsam, ja ein sunder ward".[9] One does not need to suspect a humanistic influence in the division of man into spirit, body and soul. The Anabaptists speak in the language of the Bible, hence probably I Thess. 5:25 lies at the basis of this triple division.

From the sin of Adam follow two consequences: "death" as the wages of sin, and "earthly tribulation" as God's punishment. The two are expressly separated. "Und also ist aus Adams und Eva selb schuld durch die ubertretung als niessung der verbotnen frucht der tod derselben und nach volgenden daraus fliessenden sunden sold worden . . . und erst alda hat gott die strof und ubertretung seines gebots durch zeitlich truvsal und kummernus uber in ausgesprochen".[10] The reason for the definite separation of the consequences of the Fall in sin and death on the one hand (i. e., the curse, Gen. 3:16, 19), from earthly tribulation on the other hand,

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[7] *Op. cit.*, p. 250.
[8] *Op. cit.*, p. 251.
[9] *Op. cit.*, p. 250, 253.
[10] *Op. cit.*, p. 251.

is clear: God must not appear as the originator of sin and death. That would contradict His majesty and justice; it would be blasphemy to assert such a thing.[11] Such a view of God leads to the acceptance of freedom of the human will, which the Anabaptists indeed actually believed. However in taking this position they do not wish to say that the concept of God is the fundamental concept and that the Bible is explained on the basis of this idea, for it is carefully exegetically explained,[12] that the words "lauter und klar" prove that death is not a part of God's punishment. I wish here only to call attention to the dominant conception of the Anabaptists. For comparison one may for instance point to Luther, who has an entirely different idea of God; for him the thought represented in the statement: "Deus agit et in satana", is decisive.

II. Definition of Original Sin

In what then does original sin consist? One reads various definitions which agree in this that original sin is "ein wahrhaftig verderbung menschlicher natur",[13] "lust und begierd zum bosen",[14] "thun des bosen und verlassung des gueten".[15] "Und also haben Adam und Eva ohn dis Schuld Gottes durch ir ubertreten Gottes worts das gift der Erbsund uberkommen als lust des bosen und hassung des gueten mit und in erkantnus desselben. Welchen lust dann Paulus (Rom. I) sund heisst und die den tod wirkt. Ja also haben Adam und Eva die erbsund erst in erkantnus des gueten und bosen an sich und ire nachkommen ererbt und also wirt sie erst erblich und empfenklich auf ire nachkommen, drin sy die ererbt haben als lust und begierd zum bosen durch erkantnus desselben".[16]

Summarizing, one may thus rewrite the definition: human beings have as descendants of Adam fallen completely under the power of sin,—but only in the knowledge of good and evil does it become effective in them, i. e., does it become real and active. This fundamental idea of Marbeck's anthropology must now be developed in detail.

III. Original Sin in Children

One might get the impression from the above quotations that man goes through the same process as Adam: from a state of innocence to the knowledge of good and evil and to evil-doing. If that

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11 *Op. cit.*, p. 191.
12 *Op. cit.*, p. 257.
13 *Op. cit.*, p. 193.
14 *Op. cit.*, p. 255.
15 *Op. cit.*, p. 210.
16 *Op. cit.*, p. 256.

were Marbeck's idea, then indeed the accusation of Pelagianism would be justified. But against that Marbeck protests: "Derhalben beschuldigt uns Schwenckfeld unbillich, das wir halten sollten wie die Pelagianischen, denn wir achten keinen menschen fromm von geschopflicher ungefallner natur, wie Adam vorm fall war, sonder allein, wie gehort ist, so lang das kind von der schlangen nit regiert wird, so sey die geschopflich einfalt durchs wort obangezaigter verheissung, zusagung und laistung Christi (und nit von ir selbs art) entschuldigt".[17] A child is thus not innocent, pure, a "tabula rasa" by nature; his "geschopfliche Einfalt," his blamelessness rests only on the promises and merits of Christ. "Obwol die art der sund in irem fleisch wonet. . . so ists doch in schopflicher und glaubenseinfalt kraftlos und tod, und durch die gnad Christi fur keine schuld gerechnet".[18]

Marbeck even speaks of the "erbbresten, der in sy, die kinder ist geflossen und dergestalt . . . in inen ist und sich von der wiegen her bei inen erzaigt . . . ire unraine bose art. Daher man spricht: Sihe, wie regt sich der verfallen Adam in im. Sy fahen an in unverstand und unerkantnus neidige, hassige, grimmige, zornige und dergleichen fleischart zu erzaigen".[19] One sees that Marbeck is consistently realistic and matter-of-fact and by no means idealizes the children.

The promise of Christ which does not reckon this "inherited illness" unto the children consists first in the blessings of Jesus upon the children: "Suffer the little children to come unto me . . ." and: "except ye repent and become as little children . . . ." In these sayings Marbeck thinks the innocence of children is described. (From the modern exegetical standpoint this idea is of course untenable.) As proof of the correctness of his view Marbeck produces an array of other Scripture passages: "Und also einfaltig, das ist ohn falsch oder schalkheit werden, wie die kinder seind, des auch der Herr die tauben zu einem gleichnis darstallt, sprechent zu seinen jungern: Seind ohn falsch oder einfaltig wie die taub, Matt. 10. Damit auch Paulus stimbt, da er spricht, seit einfaltig auf das bos, Rom. 16, und abermals: an der bossheit seit kinderl. Kor. 14."[20]

The promise which rests on the children does not, according to Marbeck, begin with the words of Jesus. It is already present in the promise of the coming of the Redeemer (Gen. 3:15). He even

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[17] *Op. cit.*, p. 209.
[18] *Op. cit.*, p. 275.
[19] *Op. cit.*, p. 198.
[20] *Op. cit.*, p. 194.

names this promise the "Erbgnad",[21] which becomes a "gegenerb".[22] Since this promise was given before there were any children, it extends to all children, even those of the Old Covenant: "Gleichwie sy, die unwissenden kindlein, ohn ihr aigen schuld oder that seind under Adams sund und schuld noch in Adams lenden ligend kommen, . . . gleich also seind sy auch on alle ir schuld, das ist verdienst und zuthun (in ansehung beruerter irer unschuld, die bis auf ir vernunft bestat) aus gottes barmherzigkeit wider in Adams lenden durch die verheissung gottes begnadt und erbarmbt".[23] The parenthetical clause shows that the children are for still another reason without condemning sin; this reason is based on Marbeck's conception of sin. There is sin only where a command of God is knowingly transgressed; and in children this knowledge is lacking. This equating of sin and disobedience, which arises from I John (3, 4) is typical of the sober Anabaptist conception of sin.

If we should try to relate these two arguments for the innocence of children we would have to say: *Because* children are unknowing, God does not reckon their "Erbbresten" as sin. But also the reverse is true: because God has so ordained through the promise of Christ, therefore are the children innocent: "Wer nun sagt, das inen gott in der schopflichen einfalt sund zurechne seit ob bemelter widerbringung Adams falls und schuld, der *tadelt gottes gemacht* (plan), als wer's besser gewest, Gott hett die kinder geordnet in der wissenheit guets und bos oder in der vernunftigkeit."[24]

In the background stands here again the idea of God: God has so foreordained. This is indeed the foundation of Anabaptist piety: God's will must be performed absolutely regardless of state regulations and traditional philosophical and theological thoughts. On this basis the Anabaptists arrived at their refusal of military service, of the oath, of infant baptism, and at the creation of independent congregations and to some extent at their apostolic community of goods (Hutterian Brethren).

As a conclusion of this division let an interesting debate between Marbeck and Schwenckfeld illustrate how firm Marbeck was in his general position. Schwenckfeld presents to him the oft repeated example of the fox:[25] A fox is not first a fox when he eats chickens, but is even before this completely a fox. Thus it is also with man. Marbeck calls this a "deceptive parable";[26] the fox

21 *Op. cit.*, p. 200.
22 *Op. cit.*, p. 204.
23 *Op. cit.*, p. 203.
24 *Op. cit.*, p. 205.
25 *Op. cit.*, p. 210.
26 *Op. cit.*, p. 210.

knows only *one* general trend in his nature, "der fux bleibt allweg ein fux oder in seiner bosen art und kan nit gebessert und ein schaf werden, so man in schon anschreyt." In man the bad is engaged in conflict with the good, and "so die kinder zu naturlichem verstand erwachsen und besonder auch auswendig werden angeschryan (!!) und ermanet oder angeredt das vil naturlicher, frommer, gottsforchtiger menschen daraus kommen und kommen seind, die auch volgents schafi Christi werden und worden seind." This distinction between animal being and the spiritual-moral nature of man is in my mind the only answer to the "parable of the fox."

IV. The Annulment of the Fall, or Faith

The development of the child to adulthood, and therewith the process of ripening of original sin in the knowledge of good and evil, is presented as similar to the fall of Adam, except that it becomes now an "afterfall", i. e., in Adam's case it was a real fall from innocence into guilt, whereas his descendants only make real the inherited evil already in them.[27] Therefore the annulment of the fall through becoming a Christian cannot mean the restoration to his original state. But let us ask first *how* the annulment of the fall is thought.

"Sunst wissen wir wol, das ohn gottes gnad alles fleisch nichts ist aber durch gnad ist es das widerbracht geschopf gottes (des sich gott erbarmbt) durch erneuerung seines h. geists, der den bosen geist aus dem fleisch treibt und den gueten in das herz gibt".[28] The "Ubernaturliche" is therefore the fact that God has mercy on the sinner and gives him a new heart; this is indeed the most important matter: "Das alte herz ist ja kein nutz, deshalb ja Gott ein Neues muess geben, soll man selig werden".[29] This second birth is, according to the entire Anabaptist tradition, the essential step necessary to baptism. It is therefore no mere chance that they received their name from this, their chief doctrine. Baptism should really denote the time of an inner renewal. For this renewal it is necessary that sin be uprooted. "Durch solchen glauben . . . wirt es dem teufel abgenommen und geraubt, aus seiner gefengnus und stricken der verplendung erlost und mit der vernunft und erkantnus des bosen unders wort und gehorsam Christi gefangen genommen, hinfur nit mehr dem teufel oder der sund sonder Christo zu dienen."[30]

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[27] *Op. cit.*, p. 258.
[28] *Op. cit.*, p. 248.
[29] *Op. cit.*, p. 248.
[30] *Op. cit.*, p. 234.

Death-resurrection is a standing illustration of this new birth or faith (in connection with Rom. 6, 4). Marbeck's words on this subject have depth; one feels that he is on solid ground, for here he is dealing not with theories but with living realities. What Christians these must have been, who could say of their "Glauben in Jesum Christum"; "dass einer wider in vergessen und verlaugnen sein selbs kommet und in hassung des geschopfs und seins signen lebens zum gehorsam des herren worten, will einer anders wider zu gott kommen . . . ein warer Christ sein und das ewig leben erben".[31] The real nature of sin Marbeck designates as "abgang vom schopfer, liebung des geschopfs, seins aignen lebens;" now he states that the return to God can take place for the believer only through "hassung des geschopfs und seins aigen lebens." Therewith the circle is closed. Here again one sees that the Anabaptists had a firm, well-thought-out Christian idea of God. Therefore it is not surprising that so many even under severest martyrdom remained stedfast and immovable.

One important point is still lacking. The new birth, faith, is not an act on man's part, but the work of the Holy Spirit, "Aus der natur in die ubernatur kommen und ein geistlicher mensch werden" kann man nur "durch empfahung des verhaissen h. Geists".[32] The Holy Spirit is clearly distinguished from the "unsterblichen Geist," which all men have as the creation of God; for "der eingeblasen athem gottes hat nur zum naturlichen . . . leben gewirkt".[33]

From the observation that Marbeck speaks so seldom of the sinfulness of the Christian one may draw the conclusion that there is a certain optimistic trend in his evaluation of man. He really believed that sin died with baptism. This conception directs us back to his opinion of the consequences of the fall: Since the fall, sin and flesh are not identical; but in his fleshly existence man is bound by sin: "Das fleisch ist fur sich selbs ein guet geschopf gottes und nit die sund selbs, sondern nur ein wonung der sund".[34] Through the new birth Christ dwells in the heart. Others, e. g., Luther have had essentially different ideas. For Luther even the Christian remains "semper peccator" (always a sinner); hence he sees in Romans 7 the description of the inner condition of the Christian, while others find there a description of Paul's pre-Christian life.

This short survey of Marbeck's anthropology has clearly shown how definite was his view of the nature of man and the na-

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[31] *Op. cit.*, p. 208.
[32] *Op. cit.*, p. 234.
[33] *Op. cit.*, p. 223.
[34] *Op. cit.*, p. 248.

ture of the reborn Christian. Further we see that his anthropology is not a theoretical affair, but closely united with the reality of human existence and that it is throughout organically woven together with the baptism of the believer. Therefore his view of the world and man can be even for us today the basis of our thinking. To this end may these lines serve. At the same time however may they be a stimulant to a loving study of the works of that great, almost forgotten Anabaptist leader, Pilgram Marbeck.

SOME SOCIAL ATTITUDES OF THE MENNONITES OF RUSSIA*

Cornelius Krahn

It affords me great pleasure to be permitted to speak on this subject, for it is proof to me of your concern for the welfare of our brethren in the East, and also of the fact that you are struggling with the question: as a Mennonite who is to proclaim the Gospel, what position shall I take to the Gospel and to society?

By way of introduction I shall speak concerning the attitude of our (ancestors) fathers of the 16th century and their point of view (the Anabaptists) toward these questions. Then I shall follow with the attitudes of Mennonites of Russia.

The Anabaptists have been called radical Bible readers, meaning that they attempted to work out practically the demands of the Gospel, without regard for any consequences that might arise from them in social life (the life of society). This radicalism is indeed a characteristic of their attitude toward the New Testament. From their understanding of the Gospel they severely criticised the existing Churches and society. They charged that the true Church no longer existed, that the Catholic Church had lost itself in ritualism, yes, had even become an ungodly society which did not take the Gospel seriously. The Reformers had indeed made a good beginning, but had stopped there, and also had become friends of the princes of this world. The cross of Christ, persecution, became for them, therefore, the symbol of the true Church of God; baptism, the symbol of regeneration which was to be practiced only by adult believers, who have stood the test of discipleship of Jesus.

Anabaptism, in the broadest sense of the word, had from the beginning had two tendencies, which ultimately had in common only the baptism of adults and the Christian radicalism mentioned above. The one tendency led to the fanatical movement which felt itself called of God to establish the Kingdom of God on earth, and in so far as existing society would not repent, to destroy it. This group considered itself to be the executor of the Last Judgment. The more they were rejected and persecuted, the more fanatically they pursued their goal, until the outcome was the tragedy of Jan von Leyden and the Kingdom of Münster. The other tendency was represented by the Anabaptists who separated from Zwingli in Switz-

*Translated from the German of an address given by the author at a recent Mennonite Conference in Holland.

erland under the leadership of Conrad Grebel, and a similar group in Holland under the leadership of Menno Simons who gathered together those who could not take part in the wild fanaticism of Münster or were disappointed by it. This type of Anabaptist was certainly just as radical and heroic as the fanatics though in a good sense; where the Münsterites tried to turn earthly society into the Kingdom of God by force, the Swiss Brethren and Dutch Mennonites undertook the realization of the pure holy Church, called out from society. Their program was to be accomplished through the regeneration of individuals who would by the baptism of faith become members of the Church, and then by means of discipline see to it that all brethren and sisters live according to the demands of the Gospel. The demands of the Gospel they counted as direct "commands of God", as Menno was accustomed to say, written in the Bible. They taught men "to become like Christ", as they expressed themselves again and again.

The fanatical Anabaptist movement disappeared. We are therefore concerned only with the peaceful group whose descendants, at least according to the flesh, the Russian Mennonites are. At first this movement had the hope, even though in modest measure, that the Gospel would be more generally received if it were better known. This was for the time being the case. In the Reformation Anabaptism became a powerful rival movement to the state Churches. However the tide became weaker, and persecution more terrible. This fact must be considered when we speak of the attitude of the Anabaptists toward society. Naturally this persecution strengthened them in a more negative position toward society and culture rather than a positive one. However, even so, we cannot speak of a passive negation of society, but only of an active (in the highest sense of the word) negation. I mean by this that the early Anabaptists did not let the world simply be the world and withdraw from it in pessimism and despair, although this may have been the case later and may even be the case in some quarters in our day. Their active denial of the existing world was a judgment upon it in word and deed, and a lively hope for the new order which should come from God. Thus the individual as well as the Church was here a leavening agent, a light on a candlestick. They were prepared to confess their faith not only by water baptism, but also where it was necessary, by a baptism by fire through a martyr's death. The Gospel of the forgiveness of sins in Christ and a living discipleship of Christ was the testimony offered by these for the most part very simple people as they were forced to flee from place to place, from

country to country, a testimony which has come on down through the centuries to us.

Conditions were changing already at the end of the 16th century and still more during the 17th. Persecution abated, and with it Mennonite missionary activity as well. Doubt arose as to whether it was possible to secure a spotless Church. Thereby the position toward society and toward other Churches likewise gradually changed. This is not the place to go into the development of Mennonitism in Holland in the 17th century, although I not only find it very interesting, but also see in it the decisive turning-point of Mennonite History. In the conflict between the two tendencies, the older and the newer, one side sought connection with Calvinism, while the other under the leadership of the great Galenus Abr. de Haan, influenced by Socinianism and Humanism, finally won out in Holland. From Amsterdam this battle was carried to the other Dutch Mennonite congregations, with everywhere the same outcome.

The influence of Amsterdam had become so great that one can almost speak of it (in a good sense of the term) as the Rome of the Mennonite world of that time, although in genuinely Anabaptist spirit it was without a Pope and without authority "ex cathedra". The influence of Amsterdam extended in fact not only over the Dutch congregations and the neighboring German ones, but also to West-Prussia (Danzig, Elbing, etc.) and thus indirectly to the congregations in Russia. One has only to turn the pages of the catalog of the archives in Amsterdam, to be convinced of the active communication among these Churches to the end of the 18th century. Thus the congregations of West-Prussia are the daughters, and the congregations of Russia the grand-daughters of the churches in Holland. The degree of authority that Amsterdam had at the end of the 18th century is demonstrated by the fact that before the emigration to Russia the Russian ambassador came to Amsterdam in order to see the Mennonites here in their pure, original state. Upon his request the church council of Amsterdam wrote the new settlers in Russia a letter of exhortation.

Before discussing Mennonitism in Russia, I should like to briefly characterize the differences in confessions of faith of Mennonitism scattered over the world. The usual differentiation of Mennonite groups which I find it convenient to follow, is that based on the attitude toward the Gospel, which gives the two types which are defined as orthodox versus liberal, conservative versus progressive. In social attitudes however much depends also upon whether a group is composed of city people or rural people. Finally Men-

nonites may also be classified into those who migrate as wanderers on account of conflict they find between society and the demands of the Gospel, and on the other hand those who may also see the conflict but seek to find another solution by staying where they are. For the first type of orthodox, conservative, rural, migrating group, I would like to present a typical and interesting example. In the Gran-Chaco of Paraguay, far from the world of culture, there lies a Mennonite village called Oosterwijk. The history of this name and of the settlement is unique. In the 16th century Mennonite refugees took the name from Holland to West Prussia, from there at the end of the 18th century to Russia, where the village next to my home bears this name. On account of the principle of nonresistance the inhabitants of this village went to Canada in 1874 and from there in 1924 to Paraguay. In the first of the groups named above must be included the Mennonites of Switzerland, Russia, America and in part also of Germany. To the second group belong those of Holland and in part those of Germany. This distinction is true however only with reservations. There are evidently in America some liberal Mennonites. I recently read in a Mennonite periodical a criticism of the Bible which amply proves this. And not a few of the young Mennonites of Russia of today would have for the conservative Mennonites merely a pitying shrug of the shoulders, that we are still concerned with the antiquated notions about God, and the like.

The problem of our position as Mennonites toward the Gospel and toward society remains, even though the emphasis may vary. Even when it seems as if one or the other tendency has disappeared, the conflict between the two may break out again with renewed force. Let us now consider how the Mennonites of Russia have attempted a solution of this problem. Before this can be done a brief explanation of the circumstances under which the settlement in Russia took place, is necessary. At the end of the 18th century, Empress Catherine the Great invited German farmers to cultivate and colonize her large unoccupied areas in the Ukraine. Her agents came also to the Mennonites of West Prussia and found them to be exemplary farmers. These West Prussian Mennonites had excelled in draining and cultivating the land and had become prosperous, thus arousing the envy of their neighbors. More and more difficulties were put in their way in the matters of buying land and maintenance of non-resistance. The outcome of the visit of the Russian delegates to the West Prussian Mennonite settlements was a great trek to South Russia beginning in the last decade of the 18th century. Frequent long caravans of wagons loaded with Men-

nonites and their goods moved across the great plains to a new home in the great black soil belt of the Ukraine. Here arose two large settlements: the *Old Colony* on the Dnieper, and the *Molotschna Colony* north of the Crimea. Later two new settlements on the Volga arose. A total of about 8,000 Mennonites made the trek from West Prussia. The territory of the Ukraine, where the Mennonites built their temporary miserable mud huts had only recently been acquired by Russia and was a place of exile from Moscow, where wild nomads pastured their herds. Not a shrub could be seen, and never had a plow-share torn the soil. What a vast change these industrious settlers wrought in the first century of their occupation (to the World War) can scarcely be imagined. If one had taken a journey before the war, over the vast expanse of Russia one could sometimes see in the Ukraine or Crimea, at the Caucasus or the Ural Mountains, at the Volga or the Don, in Turkestan or at the Persian border, or along the railroad in Siberia, villages which were suddenly conspicuous because they looked so completely different. These were the Mennonite villages. Even in comparison with other German villages those of the Mennonites were noticeable through the prosperity, order and industry which were stamped on them. Perfectly straight was the main and only street, on each side a fence and a row of poplars. In front of each house was a fruit and flower garden, where sand was strewn on Saturday evening, as is still the custom in West Prussia and Friesland. (Many similar related customs could be mentioned. A few years ago when I was visiting an old Mennonite estate in West-Prussia near Elbing, I felt as if I were visiting my old grandparents in Russia. The arrangement of house and rooms was identically the same and I conversed with the people in exactly the same dialect which is still spoken in Russia. A gap of about 150 years and several thousand miles seemed to have disappeared.) The wretched mud hut of the early days had given way to large dwellings of glazed tile. Barns and stables adioined the dwellings.

To present the inhabitants of these Mennonite villages to you let me choose the words of another: "Simplicity is the essence of our peculiar life." "God is our Father, the soil our mother, nature our teacher, work our experience and wealth, life our goal." "The little we have of honor, faithfulness, truthfulness, industry, endurance and mercy, we have from our faith."* Another testimony: "In his thoughtful gait, his serious features, and in his dialect, as well as in his dress and entire order, one recognizes the Dutch in

*Fhrt, Adolf. *Das Mennonitentum in Russland von seiner Einwanderung bis in die Gegenwart, Langensalza, Germany,* 1932. p. 8.

the Mennonite. He does not care for luxury, but the desire for fine materials in his clothing, well-proportioned wagons and harness is sometimes nearly a passion with him, just as his wife sometimes carries cleanliness in her housekeeping and in her flower garden to the point of anxiety."*

A Mennonite colony may consist of from 10 to 50 villages. In the course of their development the Mennonite colonies scattered over South Russia and Western Siberia, sometimes hundreds of miles apart. In addition to the colonies occasionally individual Mennonite families located on farms and estates outside of the colonies, the estates sometimes reaching a size of many thousand acres. Mennonites also went into the manufacture of agricultural implements and machinery until a full ten percent of all the farm machinery of the Ukraine was made in Mennonite factories. Countless power mills were built, gradually replacing the earlier Dutch windmills, to handle the great wheat harvests. Trade grew rapidly, and banks were established. Splendid organizations were set up to provide for the educational and charitable needs of the colonies. The original poverty of the Mennonite colonies gradually changed to wealth and the change went still further for in many cases the old patriarchal farm and farm home became capitalist "big business." Before the war approximately three per cent of the Mennonites of Russia could be counted as "capitalists", but these three per cent owned thirty per cent of the total Mennonite land, and employed 22 per cent of the Mennonite population as hired labor on their lands.

What was the cause of this remarkable expansion of the colonies and their prosperous development? One of the ablest men of the first decades of Mennonite colonization in Russia was Johann Cornies. He was a model farmer and counsellor not only for the Mennonites but also for the nomadic Mongol tribes of the region who were just at that time going over to a settled agricultural life. Even the Russian governor sought the counsel of Cornies, and the Czar visited his model farm. A learned traveler of that time says of him: "The Czar could appoint him at any time as governor, and it would be a proper choice, but he wants to be nothing more than a plain Mennonite farmer and live according to what he promised at his baptism, namely not to rule, and not to bear arms."

The attitude of Johann Cornies on the question of Christianity and State is characteristic. He accomplished a great deal in promoting education, but his program required that the children should first be taught the Word of God, and the other things should follow.

*Ehrt, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

He refused to accept elevation to the nobility and gave as his reason that he wished to remain a simple Mennonite. When he was honored with the award of orders and decorations, he requested that the medals should be severely plain, without ornamentation; his Mennonite conscience finally permitted him to accept the medals, but they had to be without ribbons and decorations. The achievements of the early years which made the Mennonites famous, such as planting of forests, sheepbreeding, silkworm production, vegetable gardening, and cattle breeding (the so-called "German red cow" is still famous throughout almost the whole of Russia) are due largely to the energy and ability of Cornies. Later, it is true, silkgrowing and sheepbreeding gave way to a large extent to wheat growing and industry.

A number of factors contributed to the spread of the Mennonite colonies over a large part of Russia. For one thing, it was forbidden to divide the land that belonged to a farm or to sell any part of it. The consequence of this regulation was that the rapid increase in the Mennonite population (the population doubled in 25 years, a growth which has not been reported elsewhere except among the Boers of South Africa) had to be provided with new land outside of the old colonies. But providing this land was not something that was taken for granted, unfortunately, even among a people with such a strong sense of solidarity and mutual responsibility as the Mennonites. By the middle of the 19th Century about two-thirds of the Mennonite population were in reality to be reckoned as a landless proletariat, while the remaining third lived in self-satisfied ease and wealth, apparently without twinges of conscience in possession not only of splendid farms of their own, but also with leaseholds on the large areas of communal land which had originally been intended for the use of the landless families of the villages. By leasing these lands they kept many families landless and provided themselves with a cheap supply of labor. But finally this state of affairs was overcome. By united effort on the part of those who were disprivileged, consciences were aroused, and a plan was adopted whereby the income from the communal land was used to buy land for new colonization. So this crucial problem finally found a solution. The operation of this new plan accounts for the fact that the Mennonites of Russia mixed so little with their Russian neighbors, for they were not compelled to start out alone but were enabled to settle in large closed Mennonite colonies. The new plan also solved the problem of the landless proletariat and practically eliminated this class, the class of the poor and underprivileged, from Russian Mennonite life, although this does not mean that

there was no social differentiation or stratification among the Mennonites of Russia, as was indicated earlier in this paper. The very last of the new colonies was established after the World War under the Soviet regime, in the Far East on the banks of the Amur River, not far from the new state of Manchukuo. This colony was in reality established as an attempt to get as far away from the Bolshevistic society of the west as possible. It was fortunately established in time to serve as the last station for those Mennonites who were fleeing out of Russia to Harbin, China. In recent years large numbers of so-called "Kulaks", the former wealthier land-owners, have been forcibly settled in barren regions. However these settlements will probably not last long, since most of the people involved die under the terrible conditions in which they are forced to labor.

With this general characterization of Russian Mennonitism in mind, let us proceed to an examination of the attitude of the Russian Mennonites on the problem of the relation of the Gospel to society. The economic struggle between the "upper" and "lower" classes which has just been described, was paralleled by a struggle for the soul of Russian Mennonitism which was no less severe. In a sense the two struggles can not be separated, for the economic struggle reveals the fact that the Gospel had become all too much a "Sunday" affair. Religion had hardened into a form, outwardly correct, but inwardly cold and dead. But as quickly as the wind can fan a small spark into a flame, so quickly did things happen in the religious life of the Russian Mennonites about 1860. The new life came from the Württemberg Pietism which had taken root in the neighbor colonies of Württembergers. It found a prepared soil as the result of the economic struggle, and quickly developed into a great revival movement that spread new life among the masses. Before it had developed very far, it came under the influence of the German Baptist movement. From this source it took over a certain procedure for the baptism and reception of new members. Baptism was immersion of such candidates only who were able to relate a personal story of new birth and conversion. Candidates were received into church by vote of the congregation after an open session in which any member had the right to question the candidate about his experience and his beliefs.

The tension between the new movement and the old church grew so great that a division occurred which led to the formation of a new church, called the Mennonite Brethren Church (Brüder-Gemeinde), to which approximately one third of the Russian Mennonites attached themselves. In the course of time the earlier tension gradually died away, both groups learned from each other, and differences were less noticeable.

It is important to notice, as was stated above, that the new religious movement was not without connections with the earlier economic conflict. As was the case of the Anabaptist movement in Reformation times, the Brüder-Gemeinde movement found its adherents chiefly in the lower strata of society. This can be clearly proved by the fact that the Brüder-Gemeinde was much stronger in the newer colonies, which were composed chiefly of the former landless groups, than it was in the two old mother colonies.

It would not be correct however to say that the Brüder-Gemeinde movement brought a new conception of the Gospel through the Pietistic and Baptist influence which formed it. What it gave the Russian Mennonites was a rebirth of personal piety, a living piety in which the individual believer receives assurance of the forgiveness of his sins, and orders his life definitely according to the teachings of Christ, particularly the Sermon on the Mount. At the very beginning of the movement, in the white heat of consistent, radical zeal, some even went so far as not to ask for the return of stolen goods, and even not to seek the aid of the police. This was a certain type of logically consistent non-resistance of which other examples from the history of Russian Mennonitism could be given. In this radicalism, the new movement consciously felt itself related to 16th Century Anabaptism. It did not want to be Pietistic, nor Baptist, but rather Mennonite. It wanted to be and remain historical, consistent Mennonitism, a pure Mennonitism that was based not upon birth, but rebirth.

The blessings which this new religious movement brought to Russian Mennonitism must be fully recognized, even though it had its all-too human, extreme and negative side. The new emphasis upon a strong personal experience of the grace of God with its accompanying assurance of salvation produced a very sturdy and active type of Christian, and led to the development of an almost unbelievable zeal for witnessing for the Gospel in home and foreign missions. The difference between laity and preachers almost disappeared, particularly since the old Anabaptist institution of lay preachers was re-established and became dominant, even though trained preachers were also to be found among the others. Preachers were chosen by the congregation from its own midst and therefore had the unreserved confidence of the group. How vividly I recall in my own experience the intensely active participation of the members in meetings of the church. Strict discipline was exercised upon erring members, for the whole life was subject to the strict supervision of the church, as it was in the days of early Anabaptism. On the other hand the strict separation of the Mennonite

group from the rest of the "world" was broken through. Connections were sought with similar religious groups, even outside of Russia. Several factors led to this fellowship beyond Mennonite borders. First of all, and primarily, it was a desire for spiritual strengthening, but it was due in part as well to the promotion of cultural and economic interests, and also to the missionary zeal of the new movement. There was scarcely a German Protestant mission society whose work did not receive some support from Russian Mennonites; among them, Herrnhut, Chrischona, Neukirchen, Basel, Rheinische Mission, etc. Numbers of Russian Mennonite missionaries went out into the mission fields of China, India, Africa, and the East Indies. The largest support both in men and money went to the Dutch Mennonite Mission in the Dutch East Indies. Mission work was also undertaken within the borders of Russia in the form of evangelism among the Greek Catholic population, although such work was expressly and strictly forbidden by the Russian Government up to the Revolution. A number of cases are known of exile to Siberia for violation of this prohibition. The Mennonites made a contribution to the rise of the strong evangelical movement which developed among the Russian population in the 60's and 70's of the last century, and which by the time of the Revolution numbered several million adherents. This is proved in part by the fact that this movement adopted nonresistance as one of its principles, although this was very likely not exclusively taken over from the Mennonite source. Immediately after the Revolution had opened the way from freedom of religion and the consequent free preaching of the Gospel by any group, active missionary work was undertaken in Russia by the Mennonites, in spite of the difficulties of the time. This mission work however was not intended to win adherents to the Mennonite Church. In fact some Mennonites left the church and joined the Russian Evangelical movement. The Russian mission work of this period reached as far as the Arctic Ocean in Northern Siberia at the mouth of the Obi river, among the Ostjaks, thousands of miles from civilization. However all this work, fine as it was, was finally made impossible by the Soviet authorities.

So we see that the new religious life that came into Russian Mennonitism through the Brüder-Gemeinde movement exerted a powerful influence both upon the religious life and the social attitudes of the group. Fundamentally this new power, this new life was drawn from the Bible, for the life of Russian Mennonitism has always been lived in the world of the Scriptures.

It must be said that the attitude of the Mennonites of Russia to Russian society, that is, the phase of it which lay outside their

specific Mennonite culture, was not conditioned alone on their attitude to the Gospel. The Mennonite in Russia found himself in an environment so completely different from his old Russian environment that adjustment had to proceed very slowly. The language, culture, piety and racial manners were too different. Nevertheless the relations to Russian society would have been different if the great majority of Mennonites had not lived in closed farming settlements, but rather as city-dwellers. That was a decisive factor. In addition (with a few exceptions) the Mennonites were given complete freedom of manner of farming, schools, and government of the colonies. In their homes they spoke a low-German dialect, or high German. In the elementary schools instruction was given in German and Russian, in the secondary schools chiefly in Russian. Thus Mennonitism received through its Dutch extraction, its long residence in West and East Prussia and finally in Russia, an independent autonomous character. This definite character was determined fundamentally by the norms of the Gospel according to Anabaptist interpretation which further strengthened the cleavage with Russian society. The nature and essence of the two cultures (Mennonite and Russian) differed to such an extent that for an indefinite time in the future an assimilation or complete adaptation to each other was impossible. Do not consider the following observation a mere witticism: The watch-dogs of the Mennonites seldom erred in distinguishing a Russian from a Mennonite, and gave them different receptions, although both were strangers to him. In Russia, especially during the war, Mennonites were called Germans, and in Germany, Russians. The relation of the Mennonites to the Russian State at about the beginning of the war and during it can be characterised thus: Some were committed to Russia with heart and life. These were the Russian patriots. Others were more inclined to the German cause. Between these two wings certainly the great majority took the position that they considered themselves an independent Mennonite people, gratefully enjoying guest-status in Russia it is true, and therefore prepared to perform all its obligations to the country, in so far as these were not in opposition to the Gospel, but still an autonomous Mennonite people. As a result of anti-German propaganda during the war, Russian Mennonites frequently organized themselves into such groups as "Russian citizens of Dutch Extraction", by which they testified to their Dutch origin and their neutrality.

Within their own society the Russian Mennonites tried to realize the demands of the Gospel. Here the sources of friction were not so great, here one could come to an agreement. The government assured them of a great degree of freedom as autonomous

political, cultural and legal communities; they were freed from military service and the swearing of oaths. From military service they had been from the beginning "forever" freed. A typical conflict between demands of the State and those of the Gospel arose in connection with this "eternal freedom" from military service. It seemed this "forever" as formerly in West Prussia was to come to an end in the 1870's. As a consequence all the Mennonites of Russia threatened a total emigration. Whereupon the Czar prolonged the "forever," though not without compromise on the part of the Mennonites. The Czar had been informed that the blooming oases of the Mennonite colonies would revert to desert in a few years. The Mennonites probably also had their own reasons for expressing themselves ready to accept service without arms, at their own expense, as foresters and in the hospital corps. This they did until the Revolution. However about 15,000 could not reconcile themselves to this compromise with their principle of nonresistance and so emigrated to North America 1874-1880. In the eyes of the Americans those who remained in Russia were unfaithful and in the eyes of those who remained in Russia the ones who went to America were "behind the times." But the principle of nonresistance was still a force among both. The test was still to come.

After the Bolshevik Revolution the question of nonresistance became really serious in Russia. It ceased to be a matter which one had in a document in his desk in black and white, or which one discussed with more or less spirit in debate. The ideal of peace became reality in the personal decision before which one was placed. It was easily understood that one could be nonresistant in respect to that which, though not a matter of indifference, was not a matter of the heart's blood. But when the dart was directed against one's own heart then it became evident whether one was absolutely nonresistant. Many did not resist; on the other hand, some even took the sword. Who was right and who was braver? When all possessions are taken and entire towns massacred by robbing bandits, yes, when father and brother are murdered before one's eyes, and mother and sister mistreated by corporeal devils, then one can speak of a trial of nonresistance by fire. When someone cries to God in such a moment, and it becomes clear to him that even here he may not dip his hand in blood, and that God can help even here; and another in a similar situation feels compelled to the conclusion that it is his holiest duty to interfere, it is indeed difficult for an outsider to decide who dealt right, even right before God. There is no thought here of blood-thirsty revenge on one side, or of cowardice and fear on the other.

This does not mean that all the individual decisions for self-protection in the Ukraine were of this nature. The spirit of adventure and the effect of officers' drills among the forces of occupation, played a role here. And so in these days of bitterest testing and need there arose an armed resistance by nonresistant Mennonites, although the protest especially among the older people, was not small. But the lesson is clear: there can be no organized nonresistance which is handed down from generation to generation as a heritage; rather nonresistance must be a personal conviction, although it may and does find the most fertile soil for its development in such a traditional heritage.

The Soviet Government set up a provincial court to decide the case of those who had conscientious scruples against military service. My own official document of release says that it is given to me because my ancestors came from Holland to Germany and from Germany to Russia for the sake of this principle, and that I am also living according to it. Such documents are all that is left of the original "eternal" freedom of conscience which the Mennonites originally were promised when they came to Russia.

In the present situation of the Mennonites in Russia, the question of freedom from military service is of small importance in comparison with the tremendous pressure under which each one is placed and tested in his attitude to the Gospel and to society. Probably since the 16th century this question has never been so burning among the Mennonites as is now the case in Russia. On one side stands Mennonitism which knows only that the entire life must be formed according to the Gospel, and on the other side Bolshevism which also leaves no detail of life untouched, and envelops everything with its influence, claiming to be the new gospel of society. Between this Christian, Mennonite interpretation of the Gospel and this Bolshevik society there is not the least connection possible, no compromise. The Church, culture, education, agriculture, and the entire outward life which had been formed by the Mennonites upon the basis of their understanding of the Bible has been destroyed. Step by step everything has been taken from them. Even the Sunday meetings of the congregations have become rare. The churches are living a catacomb existence. From the place where once the Christian message was proclaimed one now hears atheistic propaganda. The new social order, the State, demands everything. What does not bend breaks. The young generation is being slowly swept into the stream. The new social order absorbs everything. Under such conditions, it is difficult to believe that Mennonitism can survive. Yet God alone knows the answer to this question.

ATTENDANCE AT MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES 1934-1935

Silas Hertzler

Since the school year 1928-29 attendance data for Mennonite academies and colleges of the United States and Canada have been tabulated annually in the Mennonite Quarterly Review. The present study gives such data for the school year 1934-5 and for the summer of 1934.

Usable replies were received from the sixteen institutions listed below. In this table the schools are arranged on the basis of total attendance, those with the largest attendance being given first. The German-English Academy of Rosthern, Saskatchewan, sent in its reply, but included statistics for the school year 1935-1936 instead of for the year 1934-5, hence they are not included at this time.

Bethel College, Newton, Kansas.
Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana.
Eastern Mennonite School, Harrisonburg, Virginia.
Bluffton College, Bluffton, Ohio.
Hesston College & Bible School, Hesston, Kansas.
Freeman Junior College, Freeman, South Dakota.
Ontario Mennonite Bible School, Kitchener, Ontario.
Corn Bible Academy, Corn, Oklahoma.
Winkler Bible School, Winkler, Manitoba.
Oklahoma Bible Academy, Meno, Oklahoma.
Mennonite Collegiate Institute, Gretna, Manitoba.
Zoar Academy & Bible School, Inman, Kansas.
Mennonite Brethren Bible School, Fairview, Oklahoma.
Hillsboro Bible Academy, Hillsboro, Kansas.
Mennonite Bible Academy, Beatrice, Nebraska.
Enid Bible School, Enid, Oklahoma.

The writer regrets that several institutions which previously had been included in the statistics given, this year sent in no report. These schools are

The Reedley Bible School, Reedley, California.
The Mountain Lake Preparatory & Bible School, Mountain Lake, Minnesota.
The Sunnyside Bible School, Freeman, South Dakota.

It is possible that at least one of the institutions named no longer exists, since the letter sent to the school asking for information was returned by the post office department with a notation to that effect. It is the hope of those interested in this type of informa-

tion that all the existing Mennonite schools will continue to cooperate, so that the information given may be increasingly more accurate.

The gross attendance of 2,272 in the sixteen academies and colleges is 92 larger than at any other time since these statistics have been compiled. The attendance of Mennonite students is 227 larger than in any previous report. This increase is due in part to the fact that three institutions reported this year, which previously had never been included. A detailed comparison, giving totals for each year since 1928-29 can be secured by examining the data presented in Table XIII. Total enrollment comparisons for the different school years since 1928-29 are shown in Table XIII this year for the first time on the following points: college students, academy students and Bible students.

Numerous correspondence students, extension students, music and art students, and short term Bible students are included in the totals given in Table I. The footnotes to this table and to Tables II and III indicate exactly the number of such students at Bethel, at Goshen, at the Eastern Mennonite School, at Bluffton, at Hesston, and at Freeman.

The attendance of 378 at Bethel is one student larger than the largest previously reported total attendance at any one institution. Bluffton College reported an attendance of 377 in 1930-31. Bethel's attendance of 355 college students should be compared similarly with the Bluffton report of 352 for the school year 1930-31.

The arrangement of the attendance data of Table II calls attention to the fact that for the school year studied, but three Mennonite institutions were carrying on a four year program leading to a degree. These institutions were Bethel, Goshen and Bluffton. Senior college enrollments here ranged from 62 to 77. Four additional schools conduct what may be called a junior college, although as in previous years, one of these schools has students in the freshman year only. Total enrollment in the junior college ranges from 14 to 210. The enrollment at Bethel is largest in both the senior college and in the junior college. A total of 1025 college students was enrolled in the seven schools.

All the sixteen institutions studied have some students not of college grade. These data are arranged in Table III. Those students included in this table from Bluffton, Goshen and Bethel are largely music students and Bible students. Only five of these schools, judging from the enrollment statistics, are regularly organized four year academies. Several others of the number attempt only

two years of academy work, and grant certificates on the completion of the work of these years. The enrollment of 1247 students in work not demanding the completion of a four year high school course as a prerequisite, is composed of 550 regular high school or academy students, 502 Bible students and 195 unclassified students not of college grade.

The total number of Mennonite students, 1742, represents ten separately organized Mennonite bodies. As in previous years the "old" Mennonite enrollment of 632 is larger than for any other group. The number indicated as Mennonites, without signifying which group of Mennonites, is larger than in previous years, merely because the statistics were not specific on this point. "Old" Mennonites were registered in six schools. Eight schools were attended by General Conference Mennonites. There were Mennonite Brethren in four schools. The remaining Mennonite bodies were represented in a smaller number of schools and by fewer students.

Twenty different religious groups are represented in ten Mennonite schools, as tabulated in detail in Table V. In addition one student considered himself a Christian, but had not become affiliated with any particular Christian body. There was one Hebrew student. Both the number of non-church members, and the group for whom detailed statistics were not available, are larger than in some previous reports.

Mennonite students represented in these sixteen schools have their homes in thirty states of the United States and in the District of Columbia. The four Canadian provinces represented are Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. Four foreign countries are represented: India, Argentine, Germany and China. Non-Mennonite students come from sixteen states, and from two provinces of Canada, as well as from Africa and from Mexico.

The number of Mennonite students of college grade has increased over the school year 1933-34 from 536 to 614, a total of 78. The number taking Bible work, who had not completed high school; and the number of regular academy students for whom detailed statistics were available, was 1053. There were an additional 75 students for whom certain specific data were not available. These data are given in detail in Tables VIII and IX.

Three institutions only—Goshen, Bethel and Bluffton—conducted summer schools during the summer of 1934. The total attendance was eleven less than during the summer of 1933.

The distribution between men and women students in the different institutions is indicated in Table XI. There were a total of 129 more women in attendance than men. Seven of the institutions

named each had a few more men than women, though the proportion of women was considerably larger in a few other schools.

In the spring and summer of 1934 the total number of degrees conferred and diplomas given was 302. This was four less than for the year 1933. One new degree was granted at Goshen where four students received the Th. B. The Bachelor of Science degree was not conferred, as previously. The B. S. in Education was continued at Goshen only. A great variety of diplomas or certificates for Bible work is represented in Table XII. Besides the Th. B. degree, six certificates and diplomas representing different amounts of Bible training were given in the institutions studied.

Table I

Total Enrollment in Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1934-35

School	Total Enrlmnt	College	Acdmy	Bible	Other Depts.
Bethel College	378[1]	355	..	..	23[2]
Goshen College	358	315	6	37	..
Eastern Mennonite School	326[3]	45	88	120	73[4]
Bluffton College	252[5]	205	..	..	47[2]
Hesston College & Bible School	205[6]	31	82	73	19[7]
Freeman Junior College	196[8]	60	97	6	33[9]
Ontario Mennonite Bible School	148	..	..	148	..
Corn Bible Academy	92	..	3	89	..
Winkler Bible School	88	..	81	7	..
Oklahoma Bible Academy	75[10]	..	75	..	..
Mennonite Collegiate Institute	44	14	30	..	..
Zoar Bible School & Academy	32	..	32	..	..
Mennonite Brethren Bible School	22	..	..	22	..
Hillsboro Bible Academy	20	..	20	..	..
Mennonite Bible Academy	19	..	19	..	..
Enid Bible School	17	..	17	..	..
Total	2272	1025	550	502	195

(1) Bethel College Bulletin, July 5, 1935, p. 69
(2) Music students not of college grade
(3) Eastern Mennonite School Bulletin, Vol. XIV, No. 4, p. 103
(4) Correspondence students not of college grade and special high school students
(5) The Bluffton College Bulletin, April, 1935, p. 47
(6) Hesston College & Bible School Bulletin, Vol. XXI, No. 3, p. 32
(7) Correspondence and extension students
(8) Freeman Junior College Bulletin, July, 1935, p. 13
(9) Extension students not of college grade
(10) Mennonite Weekly Review, Oct. 17, 1934, p. 3

Table II

Enrollment by Classes, College Students, 1934-35

School	Seniors	Juniors	Sophomores	Freshmen	Special	Summer	Other Depts.	Total
Bethel	28	49	69	141	21[1]	47[2]	..	355
Goshen	32	30	55	109	31[3]	44[2]	14[4]	315
Bluffton	22	42	30	59	12[1]	20[2]	20[5]	205
Freeman		..	13	47	..	..	..	60
E. M. S.		..	18	24	..	..	3[6]	45
Hesston		..	6	15	..	..	10[7]	31
M. C. I.		..	..	14	..	..	..	14
Total	82	121	191	409	64	111	47	1025

(1) Unclassified college students
(2) Not including duplicates with the regular school year
(3) College students not taking full time work
(4) Eight extension students; 6 post graduates
(5) Extension students
(6) Graduates of Junior college taking third year work
(7) High school graduates taking a Christian Workers' course

Table III

Enrollment by Classes, Students not of College Grade, 1934-35

School	Seniors	Juniors	Sophomores	Freshmen	Bible	Other Depts.	Total
E. M. S.	36	19	10	23	120[1]	73[2]	281
Hesston	18	18	18	28	73[3]	19[4]	174
Ontario		..	..	..	148[5]	..	148
Freeman	9	13	26	49	6	33[6]	136
Corn	3	..	..	..	89	..	92
Winkler	18	8	31	24	7	..	88
Oklahoma		..	..	..	..	75[7]	75
Bluffton		..	..	..	..	47[8]	47
Goshen	6	..	..	..	37[9]	..	43
Zoar		..	18	14	..	..	32
M. C. I.	15	9	6	..	..	..	30
Bethel		..	..	..	..	23[8]	23
Fairview		..	..	..	22	..	22
Hillsboro		..	6	14	..	..	20
Beatrice		..	9	10	..	..	19
Enid		..	9	8	..	..	17
Total	105	67	133	170	502	270[10]	1247

(1) 99 special six weeks Bible term students; 21 full time Bible students
(2) 69 correspondence; 4 special high school students
(3) Special six weeks Bible term students
(4) Correspondence and extension students
(5) Special Bible Term students for twelve weeks
(6) Students of Dolton Extension School
(7) Division of classes not given
(8) Music students
(9) 32 special six weeks Bible term students; 5 full time Bible students
(10) The totals of Table III do not all agree with Table I because the report from Meno, Oklahoma did not give the division of its academy into classes.

Table IV

MENNONITE STUDENTS IN MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, 1934-35

Denomination	E. M. S.	Goshen	Bethel	Hesston	Ontario	Freeman	Corn	Winkler	Oklahoma	Bluffton	M. C. I.	Zoar	Hillsboro	Beatrice	Enid	Fairview	Total
"Old" Mennonites	150	252	3	88	137	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	632
Mennonites, unclassified	168[1]	..	..	84	..	9	90	..	75	..	42	32	..	..	17	..	517
Gen. Conf. Mennonites	..	1	192	18	..	78	..	8	..	54	..	..	19	19	..	..	389
Mennonite Brethren	..	..	16	..	..	10	..	76	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15	117
Cent. Conf. Mennonites	..	16	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	25
Krim. Mennonite Breth.	..	..	..	..	..	19	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	21
Amish Mennonites	5	4	..	1	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	19
Defenseless Mennonites	..	..	..	..	..	12	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	16
Sommerfelder Mennonites	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Menn. Breth. in Christ	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Reformed Mennonites	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
Total	323	275	211	191	146	128	91	88	75	69	42	32	20	19	17	15	1742

(1) Of this number 69 were correspondence students and 99 were special six weeks Bible term students. It may be assumed that the entire number were "Old" Mennonites.

Table V

NON-MENNONITE STUDENTS IN MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, 1934-35

Denomination	Bluffton	Bethel	Goshen	Freeman	Hesston	Fairview	E. M. S.	M. C. I.	Ontario	Corn	Total
Statistics Not Given ..	17	59	..	41	..	..	..	..	..	..	117
Non Church Members .	51	19	8	2	4	7	3	..	..	..	94
Methodist Episcopal ..	31	29	25	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	91
Presbyterian	14	11	9	4	..	..	..	1	1	..	40
Lutheran	11	2	8	11	..	..	..	1	..	..	33
Christian	1	16	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	23
Baptist	6	7	3	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	20
Reformed	15	..	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	19
Evangelical	4	7	2	2	3	..	..	..	1	..	19
Congregational	6	6	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	1	16
Brethren	..	..	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11
Roman Catholic	6	3	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	10
United Brethren	6	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9
Episcopalian	2	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Church of Christ	5	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Congregational Christian	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Nazarene	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Methodist Protestant .	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Christian Miss. Alliance	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Church of God	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Interdenominational ..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Christian Science	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Hebrew	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Total	183	167	83	68	14	7	3	2	2	1	530

Table VI

States, Provinces, and Countries from which Mennonite Students Come, Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1934-35

States	E. M. S.	Goshen	Bethel	Hesston	Ontario	Freeman	Corn	Winkler	Oklahoma	Bluffton	M. C. I.	Zoar	Hillsboro	Beatrice	Enid	Fairview	Totals
Kansas	2	5	173	105	....	....	1	....	....	....	....	32	19	....	....	....	337
Oklahoma	....	....	15	5	....	....	89	....	65	....	....	....	....	....	17	15	206
Pennsylvania	160	26	....	6	....	....	....	....	....	6	....	....	....	....	....	....	198
Ohio	22	78	1	1	23	....	....	....	....	52	....	....	....	....	....	....	177
So. Dakota	....	....	3	....	....	127	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	130
Ontario	....	5	....	1	102	....	....	6	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	114
Manitoba	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	61	....	....	42	....	....	....	....	....	103
Indiana	3	86	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	6	....	....	....	....	....	....	96
Virginia	86	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	87
Illinois	1	29	1	2	....	....	....	....	....	3	....	....	....	....	....	....	36
Nebraska	....	1	8	6	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	19	....	....	34
Michigan	8	4	....	5	16	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	33
Maryland	21	4	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	25
Iowa	3	13	....	7	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	23
Oregon	1	5	1	16	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	23
Colorado	....	3	....	17	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	20
New York	5	3	....	....	5	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	13
Saskatchewan	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	13	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	13
Texas	....	....	1	2	....	....	....	....	10	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	13
Missouri	1	2	....	4	....	....	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	8
Alberta	....	1	....	1	....	....	....	5	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	7
No. Dakota	....	....	....	4	....	....	....	3	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	7
Idaho	....	2	....	4	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	6
Minnesota	....	....	3	....	....	....	1	....	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	5
West Virginia	5	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	5
India	....	2	....	2	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	4
Montana	....	....	1	1	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	3
Argentine	....	2	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	2
Arizona	....	....	2	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	2
Dist. of Col.	2	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	2
Germany	....	2	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	2
California	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1
China	....	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1
Delaware	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1
Florida	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1
Massachusetts	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1
Mississippi	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1
Washington	....	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1
Wyoming	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	1
Total	323	275	211	191	146	128	91	88	75	69	42	32	20	19	17	15	1742

Table VII

STATES, PROVINCES, AND COUNTRIES FROM WHICH NON-MENNONITE STUDENTS COME, MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, 1934-35

States	Bluffton	Bethel	Goshen	Freeman	Hesston	Fairview	E. M. S.	M. C. I.	Ontario	Corn	Total
Ohio	173	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	175
Kansas	..	157	..	..	13	..	..	..	..	..	170
Indiana	1	..	76	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	77
State not given	..	..	..	41	..	..	..	..	..	..	41
South Dakota	..	..	..	27	..	..	..	..	..	..	27
Oklahoma	..	2	..	..	..	7	..	..	..	..	9
Illinois	4	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Nebraska	..	4	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	5
Pennsylvania	2	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	4
Michigan	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Manitoba	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	2
Ontario	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	2
Africa	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
Mexico	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Oregon	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Idaho	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Virginia	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
Iowa	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
New York	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Minnesota	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Texas	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Total	183	167	83	68	14	7	3	2	2	1	530

Table VIII

MENNONITE STUDENTS OF COLLEGE GRADE, MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, 1934-35

School	Men	Women	Total
Goshen	117	115	232
Bethel	95	98	193
Bluffton	35	34	69
E. M. S.	27	18	45[1]
Freeman	20	19	39
Hesston	11	11	22
M. C. I.	11	3	14[1]
Total	316	298	614

(1) Assumed that the college students were all Mennonites

Table IX

MENNONITE STUDENTS NOT OF COLLEGE GRADE, MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, 1934-35

School	Men	Women	Total
E. M. S.	109	169	278
Hesston	76	93	169
Ontario	66	80	146
Corn	36	55	91
Freeman	30	59	89
Winkler	51	37	88
Oklahoma	..	..	(75)[1]
Goshen	16	27	43
Zoar	10	22	32
M. C. I.	11	17	28
Hillsboro	13	7	20
Beatrice	8	11	19
Bethel	5	13	18
Enid	9	8	17
Fairview	9	6	15
Total	449	604	1053

(1) Detailed statistics not given; not counted in the total given here

Table X

SUMMER SESSION, 1934, MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

School	College Men	College Women	H. S. Men	H. S. Women	Total
Goshen	38	29	..	2	69
Bethel	14	46	1	..	61
Bluffton	19	18	1	5	43
Total	71	93	2	7	173

Table XI

Total Attendance, Men and Women, Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1934-35

School	Men	Women	Total
Bethel	173	205	378
Goshen	180	178	358
E. M. S.	139	187	326
Bluffton	130	122	252
Hesston	94	111	205
Freeman	80	116	196
Ontario	68	80	148
Corn	37	55	92
Winkler	51	37	88
Oklahoma	..	..	(75)[1]
M. C. I.	30	14	44
Zoar	10	22	32
Fairview	16	6	22
Hillsboro	13	7	20
Beatrice	8	11	19
Enid	9	8	17
Total	1038	1159	2197

(1) Detailed statistics not given, hence these 75 students are not counted in the total

Table XII

Diplomas Given and Degrees Granted, Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1934

	Bluffton	Goshen	Bethel	Freeman	E. M. S.	Winkler	Hesston	Corn	Zoar	Hillsboro	Beatrice	Fairview	Ontario	Total
B. A.	29	17	18	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	64
B. S. in Education	....	10	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	10
B. of School Music	5	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	5
Th. B.	....	4	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	4
Junior College	....	....	....	2	7	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	9
Two Year Normal	....	20	....	4	5	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	29
One Year Normal	....	....	....	12	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	12
Adv. Bible (College)	....	....	....	....	1	6	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	7
Academy	....	3	....	9	21	18	17	3	....	....	....	....	....	71
Bible Acad. (3 Yrs.)	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	27	....	....	....	....	....	27
Bible Acad. (2 Yrs.)	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	17	6	3	....	....	26
Elem. Bible (3 Yrs.)	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	3	....	3
Elem. Bible (2 Yrs.)	....	....	....	....	2	....	....	....	....	....	....	4	....	6
Elem. Bible (1 Yr.)	....	....	....	....	....	18	....	....	....	....	....	....	11	29
Total	34	54	18	27	36	42	17	30	17	6	3	7	11	302

Table XIII

TOTAL ATTENDANCE, MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, 1928-1935

Year	Total	Mennonite	College	Academy	Bible	Other Depts.
1928-29	1538	1025	847	569	..	122
1929-30	1967	1259	1085	609	..	273
1930-31	2180	1515	1234	710	110	126
1931-32	1928	1337	944	522	259	203
1932-33	1673	1135	906	416	277	74
1933-34	1735	1259	921	348	402	64
1934-35	2272	1742	1025	550	502	195

BOOK REVIEWS

Mennonites of Lancaster Conference. By MARTIN G. WEAVER. Published by Mennonite Publishing House, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, 1931. Pp. xvi, 496. $3.00.

"Mennonites of Lancaster Conference" is a substantial contribution to local Mennonite History that fills a long-felt need for a good history of the largest and most influential district conference of Mennonites in North America. It tells the story of a settlement that began in the year 1710, in the days when the present prosperous and thickly-settled county of Lancaster was a virgin wilderness inhabited only by Indians, down to the year 1931 when the original settlement with its outlying territory had reached a size which included a total of 88 congregations with 159 ordained men, and 11,540 communicant members. It also tells the story of the development of church life and work from the days of the simple, pioneer worship service in the German language to the days of well-organized twice-daily services, of Sunday Schools, Missions, Charitable Institutions, and other extensive and practical activities. In a sense it represents an epitome of Mennonite History on this continent from the early days of the first colonial settlements down to modern times, including in addition to the above-mentioned aspects, the development of church government and discipline, and the rise of schisms and divisions.

The book is filled with an immense amount of valuable material bearing on the local history of the Mennonites of Lancaster Conference, material which had been accumulated as the result of painstaking investigations carried on over a long period of years by a man who was thoroughly familiar with Lancaster County and its history, and who knew the sources of reliable information. The author was for many years engaged in the real estate business, did a great deal of abstracting of land titles, and had a wide acquaintance with all types of people in the community in which he had spent the whole of his long and useful life. He knew almost every square foot of ground in his immediate community, and knew the record of the ownership of a large number of parcels of land back to the original patentees from the Penns. He knew a large number of ministers and bishops personally, lived through the serious division in the Weaverland district of forty years ago, and had taken an active part in the Sunday school work of the church for more than a generation. He was the friend and counsellor of a large number of people, had the confidence of his church leaders, and was devoted to the very roots of his being to the Mennonite Church and her cause. He was qualified as perhaps no one ever has been to write the local history of the Lancaster Mennonites. His qualifications were recognized by the Lancaster Conference, which requested him in 1922 to prepare a history of the district.

The purpose of the author is well-stated in the preface of the book as follows: "The original purpose of this work was to make a record and a comparison of the growth or decline of the many Mennonite congregations in Lancaster county, and to compile a list of all the bishops, ministers, and deacons who served faithfully in their respective districts and congregations, with the dates and terms of service, as well as to record the loca-

tion of the early meetinghouses and the dates of their erection, ending with the list of the present congregations, Sunday schools, and other departments in the service of God, as conducted by the church, bringing to our notice the lives and influences of our fathers and mothers in Israel, as well as to notice the changes and customs in the services as new congregations in more recently developed settlements and communities were organized." This statement of purpose indicates the strength as well as the weakness of the book. It is chiefly a compilation of the data of local history, and does not profess to give a general interpretation of the life and experience of the Lancaster Mennonites during their two centuries of residence in this region. The author does not give the larger setting of this life, nor does he seek to relate it to the currents of religious and social life of the country as a whole. He seldom dips beneath the surface of events, dates, and personalities, to investigate the underlying causes and forces that produced the surface manifestations. He does not even relate the life of the Lancaster Mennonites adequately to the life of the Mennonite Church as a whole, though in this regard he represents to some extent the spirit of the group whose history he is depicting. He therefore contributes little to a fuller understanding of the underlying causes that have made the Lancaster Mennonites what they are today, nor to an understanding of the causes of the several divisions which took place in the course of the passing years. The brief chapter on "Home Life and Worship in Colonial and Early National Days" is excellent as far as it goes, but much more could have been presented on the cultural history of the group in the past two centuries. Little attention is paid to the developments in doctrinal views and theology, to changing emphases in church life, to the problem of the relation of church and state, or to the occupations and economic activities of the group. Scattered comments on all of these topics indicate the author's interest in these phases of Lancaster Mennonite life, but they do not compensate for the more thorough investigations and reports on such topics which one would like to see. It should be said at once however, that Martin G. Weaver did not profess to give a social and cultural history of the Mennonites, and that he himself would have been the first to recognize the deficiencies pointed out above. He was after all not trained in the schools, and was not equipped to treat well such matters, and cannot be criticised for failure to meet the desires of readers in this respect. Such studies must be sought elsewhere.

What has been said about the deficiencies of the book by no means detracts from the solid value of what has been given, and those who enter into other phases of Lancaster Mennonite History will be constantly indebted to the labors of Martin G. Weaver. His compilations of data on the early settlements and pioneer families, on the succession of ministers, deacons, and bishops in the various congregations and districts, on the meetinghouses and Sunday schools; his thumbnail biographical sketches of countless personalities in Lancaster History, all of this is source material of the very highest value.

The plan of the book is as follows: 1) Introductory account of the origin and history of the European Mennonites together with a brief account of their immigration to Pennsylvania, taken from a sketch by E. K. Martin of Lancaster, written in 1883; 2) History of the bishop districts and the congregations in them, together with data on ordinations and meet-

inghouses; 3) History of Sunday schools, Missions, and Charitable Institutions; 4) History of the Conference organization; 5) History of other Mennonite bodies which branched off from or are now located in the district of the Lancaster Conference; 6) Miscellaneous matters including "Church leaders in other conferences", "Home life and Worship in colonial days", "Mennonite literature and authors of Lancaster County"; 7) Statistical data, records of ordinations, and indexes of names and places. The value of the book is enhanced by the use of numerous photographs of Lancaster meetinghouses. Minor errors are few, such as the statement on p. 35 that William Rittenhouse, the first Mennonite minister in America at Germantown, died at the early age of 44 years.

The writer would not close this review without a personal tribute to the author, Martin G. Weaver, whom he had learned to know personally as a friend, and to esteem highly as a typical whole-souled, genuine Mennonite and true-hearted Christian. Some ten years ago, Mr. Weaver and the writer traveled together over a good part of the eastern territory of Lancaster County, visiting historic spots, and searching for old Mennonite books. Again in the summer of 1934 the two made a pilgrimage to the historic points of the early Mennonite settlement in Lancaster County. It is with a deep sense of personal loss that he records the passing of his friend, who entered into rest on March 31, 1935 at his home in New Holland, Pennsylvania.

M. G. Weaver reared a monument to himself not only in the impression his character and life made upon his fellowmen, but in the extensive and valuable contribution which he made to Mennonite history in the volume under review "Mennonites of Lancaster Conference". In addition to this book he was the author of "History of New Holland, Pennsylvania, 1728-1928", and numerous interesting articles on local history which appeared in the local newspapers.

Goshen College Harold S. Bender.

The Price of Peace—The Challenge of Economic Nationalism, by Frank H. Simonds and Brooks Emeny. Harper and Brothers, New York, 1935. Pp. xxviii, 352. Table of contents, subject index, twenty maps, eight charts. $3.00.

The next war will be caused, indirectly, by the people of the "more fortunate nations" whose policy of nationalistic selfishness is forcing the "less fortunate nations" into war in a desperate attempt to avert economic disaster. Confronted by the certainty of economic strangulation through the selfish nationalism of the more fortunate peoples, the less fortunate nations, seeking the lesser of two evils, will choose war. The "price of peace" is international co-operation and economic unselfishness. This is in brief, the thesis of the significant book by Simonds and Emeny.

In Part One the authors deal with definitions. A nation state constitutes a self governing unit which asserts itself to be sovereign and holds itself the supreme arbiter of its own actions. Such actions are dictated by national policies, "systems of strategy" employed by states to attain what are the obvious ends of governments, namely, security, prosperity, and —where it is lacking—ethnic unity. Such systems of strategy include tariff, boycott, embargo, currency manipulation, subsidies, foreign loans, diplo-

macy, and alliances. In the hands of nations economically and politically powerful these systems of policy may actually hold the power of life and death over the weaker nations. The "nation states system" and "the doctrine of absolute sovereignty of the individual country 'preclude' the creation of a universally accepted and effectively enforced system of public international law, of a world court of competent and conceded jurisdiction and, finally, of an international police," or in other words of a true League of Nations.

Among the seven great powers four may be said to enjoy security, prosperity, and ethnic unity while three do not. Part Two deals with policies, resources, and economic needs and injustices in Europe. Part Three considers similar problems in America and Asia. Great Britain, the United States, France and Russia are the "more fortunate nations," that is they have national security, economic prosperity, and ethnic unity. Germany, however, possesses neither ethnic unity nor material prosperity. Her just desire for an All-German state, for union with Austria is being thwarted by France and Italy. She lacks raw materials for her industries. Italy has achieved ethnic unity and enjoys a considerable measure of national security with respect to her boundaries, but she has been deprived of one of her chief means of economic support by the drastic immigration laws that make it impossible for her to export labor. A nation will not long submit to crushing economic injustice without going to war, even against great odds. Japan is, even now, dealing with her problem of lack of food and raw material by providing a granary for herself in Manchuria in true imperialistic fashion. The book was written before Italy invaded Ethiopia, but the authors of *The Price of Peace* are in a position to say, "I told you so!" Germany, the authors insist, is being forced into a war of self-preservation. As soon as she can make the necessary preparations she will plunge into war for her ethnic and economic rights unless present racial and economic injustices as they affect Germany and the Germans are voluntarily corrected by the great powers.

The concluding section, Part Four, "Peace," recounts recent attempts to assure world peace. The authors favor a real League of Nations with "authority and power" expressed in international law, a world court, and an international police. They place on the people of the United States, Great Britain and France, the blame for the failure of the League. "It is not the munitions-makers, but the masses who by their votes elect and support governments and administrations committed to the pursuit of policies of economic nationalism, who are the real 'merchants of death.'" What then is the cause for war? Nationalistic selfishness, which denies to the inhabitants of other lands the security, prosperity, and fellowship with relatives that we find indispensable to our own happiness. And what is the "price of peace?" International unselfishness, justice to all men. Simonds, however, does not appear conscious that he is taking his text from the Sermon on the Mount.

Simonds is an economic realist. He does look facts in the face. Hence his book deserves a reading for its clear picture of present world conditions as they affect the problem of international competition and economic inequality. His solution, however—a League of Nations, in fact as well as in name—does not seem convincing. How a super-power could, by force, execute justice and prevent all future wars is not clear. Simonds avoids

this question. Parties would no doubt develop in any United States of the World. It is inconceivable that, sooner or later, these parties would not plunge the world into cataclysmic conflict. With Simonds' major conclusion, however, there can be no disagreement: selfishness causes war; unselfishness is "the price of peace."

Why not add, as Simonds does not: the spirit of Jesus in the hearts of men will eradicate selfishness and replace it with unselfishness! "If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink." "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." This after two thousand years is still the "price of peace." How long will each new generation insist on proving to its own satisfaction and to its own destruction that "they which take the sword shall perish with the sword"?

Goshen College John Umble.

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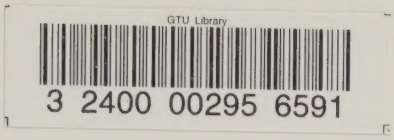

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